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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

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R 231813Z APR 75
FM U S MISSION GENEVA
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INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 281
AMEMBASSY OSLO
USNMR SHAPE
USLO SACLANT NORFOLK
CINCLANT
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2869

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM
SUBJECT: CSCE: CBMS: DISCUSSION OF ITALIAN WORKING PAPER

REF: GENEVA 2823

1. SUMMARY. EASTERN REPS HAVE CONTINUED TO BE CRITICAL OF ITALIAN WORKING PAPER ON NATURE OF COMMITMENT AND HAVE INSISTED THAT WORDS "ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS" BE USED IN TEXT OF PROVISION. YUGOSLAVS HAVE SUGGESTED FORMULA IN WHICH THESE WORDS ARE USED TO DESCRIBE MANNER IN WHICH OBLIGATION IS ASSUMED, AS OPPOSED TO MANNER IN WHICH IT IS IMPLEMENTED. ALLIES AGREED AT CAUCUS TO INDICATE AT NEXT SUB-COMMITTEE MEETING THAT THEY ARE WILLING CONSIDER YUGOSLAV SUGGESTION BUT THEY ALSO AGREED TO PRESS FOR SHIFTING DISCUSSIONS TO PARAMETERS IN ORDER PROBE SOVIET FLEXIBILITY FURTHER. END SUMMARY.

2. AT INFORMAL MEETING OF CBM SUB-COMMITTEE APRIL 22,
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SOVIETS AND OTHER EASTERN REPS AMPLIFIED THE NEGATIVE

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COMMENTS THEY HAD MADE AT PREVIOUS MEETING (REFTEL) CONCERNING ITALIAN WORKING PAPER ON NATURE OF COMMITMENT FOR NOTIFYING MANEUVERS. SOVIET AMBASSADOR MENDELEVITCH SAID ITALIAN "EFFORT" WAS APPRECIATED AND THAT WORKING PAPER CONTAINED SOME ELEMENTS THAT COULD BE UTILIZED. HE STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT WORKING PAPER FAILED TO DEAL WITH "VOLUNTARY BASIS" CONCEPT AND WAS THEREFORE PROFOUNDLY DISAPPOINTING TO SOVIETS. MENDELEVITCH ADDED THAT HE WAS AWARE OF CURRENT "RUMORS" OR "MISUNDERSTANDINGS" THAT SOVIETS COULD DO WITHOUT EXPLICIT MENTION OF "VOLUNTARY BASIS" IN THE TEXT AND SAID THAT THESE WERE FALSE AND UNFOUNDED. BULGARIAN REP SIMILARLY STATED THAT THESE TWO "MAGIC WORDS" WOULD HAVE TO BE INCORPORATED IN ANY AGREED TEXT. HE AND OTHER EASTERN REPS WARNED THAT IF SUB-COMMITTEE'S EARLIER MOVEMENT TOWARDS ACCEPTANCE OF VOLUNTARY BASIS WERE REVERSED, EAST WOULD ALSO REVERSE ITS FLEXIBILITY ON PARAMETERS.

3. SEVERAL ALLIED REPS PRESSED SOVIETS TO TABLE AMENDMENTS OR TEXT OF THEIR OWN. MENDELEVITCH DEMURRED, HOWEVER, SAYING THAT EAST HAD ALREADY MADE CLEAR WHAT IT WANTED. HE SAID SOVIETS COULD HAVE PUT FORWARD TEXT WHICH WAS AT OPPOSITE EXTREME FROM ITALIAN WORKING PAPER BUT THEY CHOSE NOT TO DO SO BECAUSE THEY WERE INTERESTED IN AN AGREEMENT AND NOT IN BARGAINING.

4. TOWARDS END OF MEETING, YUGOSLAV REP ORALLY SUGGESTED FOLLOWING FORMULATION AS POSSIBLE SUBSTITUTE FOR LAST SENTENCE IN ITALIAN WORKING PAPER: "ACCORDINGLY, THE PARTICIPATING STATES UNDERTAKE ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS TO NOTIFY MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS AND, AS AN INITIAL STEP, THEY AGREE THAT NOTIFICATION WILL ALWAYS BE GIVEN WHENEVER THE PARAMETERS ARE MET." YUGOSLAV REP EXPLAINED THAT IN THIS FORMULATION THE TERM "VOLUNTARY BASIS" CHARACTERIZED THE MANNER IN WHICH THE UNDERTAKING WAS ASSUMED AND NOT THE MANNER IN WHICH IT WAS TO BE IMPLEMENTED. HE ADDED THAT QUALIFICATION OF LATTER TYPE WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE IN HIS DELEGATION.

5. MENDELEVITCH SAID YUGOSLAV FORMULATION APPEARED
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CONTAIN SOME ATTRACTIVE ELEMENTS BUT ALSO REQUIRED FURTHER EXPLANATION AND STUDY. ALLIES WERE NON-COMMITTAL AT SUB-COMMITTEE AND DISCUSSED YUGOSLAV FORMULA AT SOME LENGTH AT CAUCUS APRIL 23. THERE WAS CONSENSUS THAT SOVIETS WOULD BE UNABLE TO ACCEPT IT AS IT STANDS AND WOULD, AT LEAST, WANT TO HAVE PHRASE "ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS" APPEAR AFTER VERB "NOTIFY" RATHER THAN AFTER "UNDERTAKE." FRENCH, UK AND FRG REPS POINTED OUT THAT

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PHRASE "AS AN INITIAL STEP" WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO THEIR
DELS BECAUSE IT SMACKED OF FOLLOW-UP. THERE WAS ALSO
GENERAL FEELING THAT USE OF WORD "AGREE" WAS UNDESIRABLE.
US REP AGAIN REMINDED ALLIES OF LONG-STANDING US POSITION
ON NATURE OF COMMITMENT AND COMMENTED THAT YUGOSLAV FORMULA
AS A WHOLE WOULD PRESENT EVEN MORE SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR US
THAN THE ORIGINAL UK FORMULA WHICH IS PICKED UP IN THE
ITALIAN WORKING PAPER.

5. RESULT OF CAUCUS DISCUSSION WAS THAT ALLIES AGREED
CONFINE THEMSELVES TO INDICATING AT APRIL 25 SUB-COMMITTEE
MEETING THAT THEY WOULD BE PREPARED CONSIDER REPEAT CONSIDER
USING THE TERM "VOLUNTARY BASIS" IN THE LAST SENTENCE
OF THE ITALIAN WORKING PAPER AS A DESCRIPTION OF THE
MANNER IN WHICH THE OBLIGATION WAS ASSUMED BUT NOT OF
THE MANNER IN WHICH IT WAS TO BE CARRIED OUT. (TO
ILLUSTRATE, SENTENCE MIGHT BE CHANGED TO READ: "HAVE
THUS DECIDED ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS TO NOTIFY MAJOR
MILITARY MANEUVERS ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING PARA-
METERS.") IT WAS RECOGNIZED BY ALL REPS AT CAUCUS THAT
THIS WOULD NOT MEET SOVIET REQUIREMENTS BUT MANY FELT
THAT THE SIGNALLING OF ALLIED READINESS TO EMPLOY THESE
"MAGIC WORDS" AT ANY PLACE IN THE FORMULATION SHOULD BE
REGARDED AS A POLITICAL CONCESSION, ON BASIS OF WHICH
WEST COULD ARGUE FOR SHIFTING DISCUSSION TO PARAMETERS
IN ORDER TO PROBE SOVIET FLEXIBILITY FURTHER.DALE

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